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News Ltd., Printed in

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ther stiffening in the Anglo-French attitude.

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 1,060 October 19, 1956 4d. (U.S. Air Express Edition: 10 cts.)

SUEZ: GENUINE AND SHAM POINTS OF PROGRESS

By Roy Sherwood

At this stage it is of some importance to recognise the difference between what is genuine and what is more or less sham in the progress made at New York as a result of the Suez Canal discussions in the Security Council.

The sham element, as often happens in such cases, is the more showy of the two.

Here, it consists in the unanimous vote for six principles laid down by common agreement in direct negotiations between the two leading parties—Mr. Selwyn Lloyd and M. Pineau on one side and M. Fawzi, the Egyptian Foreign Affairs Minister on the other. Read by themselves, the six "principles" seem so satisfactory that there should be no further trouble.

The two sides agree that transit through the Canal shall be open and without discrimination either political or technical kind; that the sovereignty of the Canal shall be insulated from the politics of any country; that tolls and charges are to be determined by agreement between Egypt and the Canal Users; that a fair proportion of the dues is to be allotted to development; and that disputes are to be settled by arbitration with suitable reference and suitable provisions for the payment of sums found to be due.

So far, excellent. But it is only like the front row of the apples on the barrow-boy's

For Mr. Selwyn Lloyd submitted an addendum to these points, which was voted against by Russia and Yugoslavia; and as this amounts to a plain re-assertion of the London Conference proposals to which Russia had already objected at the time, and on the basis of which President Nasser had refused to negotiate with the committee sent to Cairo, one was surprised at the adverse vote by Russia and Yugoslavia.

Pious generalisations

As matters stand at the moment, Egypt has been called upon to submit proposals of her own for the practical execution of the six agreed "principles," and these proposals must be, in Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's words, as effective as those of the 18 powers which adopted them at the end of the London Conference.

Up to date, therefore, the area of agreement is nothing more than a number of pious generalisations, in spite of two real concessions by Egypt.

(These were the acceptance of the resolution (albeit Mr. Selwyn Lloyd's addendum) although he considered the wording of the provision dealing with the insulation of the operation of the Canal from politics "unfortunate and misleading," and might have argued about this at considerable length; and acceptance of the fact that Canal dues be paid to the Canal Users' Association pending a final settlement.

Almost up to the last minute it had been assumed that France and Britain would waive their demand for some form of international authority, and the resolution itself is supposed to have been only reluctantly agreed to in its final wording by the Americans, who wanted more conciliatory text.

Force of world opinion

Actually then France and Britain do not appear to have moved forward a single step in the direction of meeting Egypt, with one exception—and it is this that constitutes the genuine point of progress: Negotiations are to continue, in spite of the voices raised at the London Conservative Party Conference in Europe, with full political agreement being based on the fact that if their countries were attacked they would use nuclear weapons in their defence.

"The only proviso is that we have to ask the politicians first," said the Field Marshal.

"That might be difficult, of course. Personally, I would use them first and ask afterwards."

That shows the deep faith that he has in Democracy! We know that in the historic battle of North Africa between Rommel and Montgomery that Democracy won, but what kind of Democracy?

WHO'LL BE AT THE INQUEST?

Only on the assumption that we will be the aggressors does Lord Montgomery think the West can win.

But if the East is so internally wicked why should Lord Montgomery assume that they will not agree first?

In that case, according to Montgomery's reasoning the historical inquest on World War III of 1963 may not be held by Montgomery or any British military historian at all.

It might well be held in Lhasa in Tibet, or in Hankow by Russian and Chinese Marshals and military historians, again to bring in the theory of the American meteorologist, depending on the way the wind blows!

It is surprising how many people there are in the West like Montgomery, who assume that their opposite numbers in the High Commands of the East don't have similar ideas in their heads too.

But what is the purpose of Montgomery's speculations? It is that we must prepare for this war that is to come in 1963 now. We must prepare our Master Plan to defeat World Communism in the great war that is to come in seven years time!

So the war is really to have a political object.

Open letter to Alexander Steward

An open letter to Alexander Steward, author of "You are wrong, Father Huddleston", has had to be held over until next week

The inside-story as told by Arab and Israeli leaders

ISRAEL & JORDAN

Danger from "massive retaliation"

From BRIJEN K. GUPTA

THE night-long battle provoked last week by Israeli forces against the Jordanian police post at Qilqilya took place on the direct order of David Ben Gurion, Israel's Prime Minister.

This was the second time within three weeks that Israeli forces have engaged in massive retaliations against Jordan. On September 24, the police outpost at Husan was blown up.

Qilqilya is the nearest frontier point in Jordan from the Mediterranean which I visited only two months ago.

A week after the Husan incident, acting on information supplied to me by sources close to President Nasser and the Jordanian Government, I told the leaders of Mapai, Mapam and Achdut Hayodah, the three principal parties in the Ben Gurion Coalition, as well as the Speaker of the Israeli Parliament, that any further retaliatory raids on Jordanian territory would bring the Iraqi forces into Jordan, and would also raise the prospect of the British intervention in the Israeli-Jordan border hostilities.

I also told these Zionist leaders that the continued recurrence of the massive retaliatory actions by Israel would on the one hand make impossible a rapprochement between the left-wing Arab nationalists and the left-wing Israeli Zionists, and on the other alienate public opinion in Asia.

Montgomery's speech

THE WAR OF 1963

By Emrys Hughes, MP

FIELD MARSHAL LORD MONTGOMERY has been discussing the possibilities of the next war again. This time he assumes that it will take place in 1963 and he looks back at it from 1969.

Where Lord Montgomery is likely to be doing this we can only guess. It will hardly be from the Hall where the Royal United Services usually holds its meetings for neither that nor London will be there.

Perhaps it will be from Cork or Tipperary or it may be St. Helena or the Seychelles. The lives of millions of human beings will depend, so an American meteorologist and expert on atomic dust has told us on which way the wind is blowing when the hydrogen bombs are dropped.

But the odds are that we can count London out and most of the other big world's capitals as well.

WHO WILL BEGIN?

But Lord Montgomery assumes that the West has won the war. Why?

Because it has attacked first! There is no nonsense here that Britain will never use the H-bomb unless against an aggressor.

Montgomery leaves this sort of pious pronouncement to the British Prime Minister and front bench politicians of whom he has a very poor opinion.

Answering questions Lord Montgomery said that Supreme Headquarters Allied Powers in Europe, with full political agreement were basing their plans on the fact that if their countries were attacked they would use nuclear weapons in their defence.

"The only proviso is that we have to ask the politicians first," said the Field Marshal.

"That might be difficult, of course. Personally, I would use them first and ask afterwards."

That shows the deep faith that he has in Democracy! We know that in the historic battle of North Africa between Rommel and Montgomery that Democracy won, but what kind of Democracy?

WHO'LL BE AT THE INQUEST?

A couple of high-ranking officers are apparently to be given the power to blow up half the world and tell the politicians, if any of them survive, afterwards!

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But if the East is so internally wicked why should Lord Montgomery assume that they will not agree first?

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But what is the purpose of Montgomery's speculations? It is that we must prepare for this war that is to come in 1963 now. We must prepare our Master Plan to defeat World Communism in the great war that is to come in seven years time!

'Force unreal'

October 19th 1956

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MONTGOMERY LOOKS AHEAD

LORD MONTGOMERY, associated with the Supreme Command of the NATO forces, is in the best position to see what from a military standpoint are the requirements of NATO.

His contentions are the logical conclusions of military assumptions.

On the other hand it is clear that the Suez situation has made him think again about his recent statement that was quoted in the Labour Peace Fellowship statement to the Labour Party Conference.

"If anyone in the world starts aggression we shall give them the works from the word go, with atom and hydrogen bombs, and the biggest things we've got... I wouldn't mind the consequences."

The Egyptian Government has "started aggression" according to the British Government, and there is no reason to think that the political outlook of Lord Montgomery would cause him to disagree with it.

Nevertheless the kind of consequences that he is proposing to describe in his speech would so obviously be out of proportion with the Suez affair that he has thought it as well to be a trifle more cautious, so that this formulation has now become "The West should make clear that any ARMED aggression against free peoples would be met with instant and adequate retaliation."



LIKE his great German precursor, von Clausewitz, Lord Montgomery regards attempts to separate political measures from the demands of war preparation as unreal.

We agree with Lord Montgomery and von Clausewitz on this point and we are convinced that the reason why there has been so great a convergence on the essentials of all aspects of Labour and Conservative policy over the past 30 years is that there has been a common agreement on the more important requirements in regard to war preparation.

Both parties, however, are lagging in facing the logic of the present situation, and we do well to join Lord Montgomery in the contemplation of the direction in which this points.

He has no doubt on the subject: he has said before, and he now repeats, that the nations of the West should be organised for the direction of both military strategy and political policy under a supreme authority.

This is not to be a world authority. It has nothing to do with the United Nations. It is a part-world authority, organised, as Lord Montgomery's departing colleague, General Gruenthal, has put it, to put the 450,000,000 people of NATO in a position to face the 800,000,000 under totalitarian dictatorship.

The peoples of Poland and Hungary, etc., who are just taking their first painful steps towards the shaking off of the highly centralised direction under which their affairs have been conducted, are to be faced by more highly centralised controls in the West in which political direction is to be linked with the needs of SHAPE.



THE great problems that trouble honest political theorists today of how measures of centralised world administration are to be reconciled with democracy are thus to be bypassed.

The matter is to be dealt with on the basis of military necessity in a world power struggle.

The developments towards supra-national centralisation in the West will of necessity be emulated—where not already anticipated—by the East.

We shall have arrived at two world governments in conflict, each equipped with the improved and extended spy systems that Lord Montgomery is urging, and neither of which will be required to have regard to the place of the human person in society indicated by such terms as liberty and democracy, because the military requirements dictated by the conflict will dominate all.

Something of what will happen when these two great centralised combinations get to grips in war Lord Montgomery has described in his lecture, although as a strategist he is of course only concerned with the "millions of refugees" he contemplates in so far as they slow down movement and hamper military plans; and with the effects of the appalling distribution over the world of radio-active fall-out in the extent to which it has—he delicately puts it—"rendered the human mind less efficient." The merely human aspects are part of the results he "wouldn't mind."

If, however, instead of entering upon the war of final destruction these two highly centralised directing groups came to the conclusion that they could co-exist (as was suggested by Sir Winston Churchill at Aachen in May of this year) they would do so on the basis of this militarised concentration of power and the ordinary peoples of the world would be at the mercy of whatever policies they might decide to dictate.

Report from the Copperbelt

HEAT, dust and uncertainty. That is the picture as I write from Northern Rhodesia.

The heat, at this time of year, is inevitable. So is the dust. So, lamentably, is the uncertainty.

What lies behind the Copperbelt trouble?

A State of Emergency was declared over what was purely an industrial dispute.

First, there was the contentious issue of the recently "advanced" mineworkers ("boss boys" and other skilled workers) being directed from the Mineworkers Union to the Salaried Staff Association. Union leaders were angered by the thought of their organisation being weakened in numbers.

Secondly, and it was this that actually brought the Emergency into force, African miners protested at having to wear leggins underground and also at being compelled to make use of identity discs.

EMERGENCY DECLARED

It is interesting to note that no official strike was declared by the Union.

And interesting too is the fact that, at most mines, workers were willing to work—but only on condition that leggins would not be worn and identity discs discarded.

It was at this point that the mine managements jumped in.

We forbid you to work underground, they told the workers, unless you comply with our orders.

So it was that over a period of nearly two weeks the majority of African miners did not attend to their jobs underground.

And it was at the beginning of this period that the State of Emergency was declared and 42-odd leaders of the Union and the African Congress

BASIL DELAINE'S CENTRAL AFRICAN COMMENTARY

lost their freedom to the Emergency Regulations and were detained behind barbed wire, where they still languish more than three weeks after their arrests.

There is no doubt as to the effect of the call-out of the Police and the Army.

It inevitably created tension which, having hit the African rank-and-file, boomeranged back to the Europeans.

Not that there was ever any panic. Europeans spoke about it as though it were a change in the weather. But the tension, for two weeks or so, was very marked.

At the time of writing, three weeks after its declaration, the State of Emergency on the Copperbelt is still effective.

The number of detainees has jumped to 50-odd—and there is no sign of their release.

African meetings, during the Emergency, are banned and it was when people got together to discuss the situation that, on numerous occasions, the police hurled their tear bombs and wielded their shillelagh-like batons.

The situation is quiet as I write. But how long will it remain so? How long can the White settlers in this country hold down the upsurge of African enlightenment?

The miners are back at work. Many of them will now be regretting their allegiance to their leader and prime instigator of the "leggins and disc" issue, one Mr. Matthew de Luke Nkomo.



MANY people (like the British Archbishops) have held that it is impossible to achieve a peaceful world through the idea of human brotherhood (which means that brothers may not legitimately kill each other for the advancement or defence of their own interests), but that there was hope of peace to be found in the fear of the great "deterrent".

They must feel considerably shaken after the events of the last two months particularly in view of the proceedings of the Conservative Party Conference at Llandudno.

The single voice raised there against what the Economist calls the Government's "gunboat" policy was heard only with impatience and represented the only vote that was cast against a resolution that had been amended to meet the views of Captain Waterhouse and his associates.

It is true that in accepting that amendment, the platform made it evident that it might not be interpreted precisely as its sponsors would desire; nevertheless, the whole Conference, with the exception of Mr. William Yates, MP, voted for it as providing the nearest they could get to a "gunboat" declaration.

The Economist, from whom we have borrowed the label "gunboat Tories", clearly takes the view that however stridently the Government may have declaimed about its intentions following the action of the Egyptian Government, there was never any possibility that it would act with the irresponsibility that its words indicated.

Our destruction

"YOU cannot," says the Economist, "create the image the Conservatives need by dreaming dreams of conserving imperial greatness. You cannot create it in foreign policy by saying with the prophet Ezekiel: 'I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers,' and sending a gunboat—because everybody knows that you jolly well cannot."

The trouble is that when you begin to say you can and your Waterhouses, Amerys, Currons, Connells and the rest begin to clamour that you should, and the kind of crowd irresponsibility is aroused that was manifested at Llandudno, there develops a growing temptation to take a chance.

You can, in fact, send the gunboat; what you cannot do is to ensure that it will not set off the chain reaction, political and atomic, that will destroy mankind.

If we are to achieve peace through deterrents, we shall know that we have attained to that end only when

we have become so deterred that we shall no longer prepare for the war that we know may be our destruction.

A cynical assessment

INCIDENTALLY, the cynicism of the Economist's appraisal of the present political situation is worthy of consideration.

It holds that there are three possible courses for the Conservatives.

They can take the line of the "gunboat Tories" and adopt a policy that is both different from that of Labour and also appears to be so. That will ensure a Conservative defeat.

They can pursue a policy that is really different from Labour policy

Conservatives

Non-violence and war

China

but is made to look as much like it as possible. That also will bring defeat.

Or, thirdly, they can follow a policy that is really the same as that of Labour but which is made to look as different as possible. That way offers a chance of success.

We do not necessarily accept the Economist's appraisal of chances if we say that this description does represent the basic fact of the political situation today.

There will only be reality again in political disputes if the real problem that confronts the modern world is brought in: are we or are we not to persist in the policies that were followed in the pre-atomic era now that we have entered the atomic age?

Alternative to war

THERE can, of course, be two views about whether it is desirable that Wales should seek a separate form of self-government.

For those Welsh who take the view that such self-government is desirable, however, it is surely not surprising that they dissent from the idea that their land should be taken and their farms and villages destroyed, without consultation, in order to meet English needs.

It is clear that Frank Dawtry, whose letter appears on page 7, finds the idea of separate self-government for Wales unattractive, but he surely takes his opposition a little far when he equates with war non-violent activity directed against

MR. DULLES has again wounded British susceptibilities by a reference to British colonialism in connection with the Suez dispute, and he has been reminded that America is regarded by Asians as one kind of colonialism.

Beyond doubt America is attempting to intervene in the domestic affairs of China though they would never tolerate a Chinese fleet continually operating off the coast of California.

It is high time that America revised its policy, evacuated the Formosa area and ceased to put any obstacles in the way of ensuring that the *de facto* Government of China is represented at UN instead of pretending that China's seat as a permanent member of the Security Council can be properly filled by Chang Kai-shek.

The difference which would be made to the present discussions on Suez if China had been properly represented at the Security Council is obvious.

From the Editor's Notebook

A good campaigner

PED RASEY, seventeen-year-old delegate who was loudly cheered for his intervention in the debate on foreign policy at the Labour Party Conference, is one of a team who have been campaigning in the Salisbury area to "convert the Labour Party to pacifism."

A large crowd gathered in Salisbury Market Place last month to hear this group of under-twenties protest against the threat of war over Suez.

"I would rather spend Christmas in prison than in a barracks," Ted, who is about to be called-up, told the crowd. "I refuse to have anything to do with the wholesale licensed butchery of modern warfare."

Mary Harrison, who walked from Salisbury to London to deliver an H-bomb protest at 10 Downing Street last year, was in the audience. She tells me the group's enthusiasm is unbound and that they plan to visit the surrounding villages this autumn. But she heard some strange comments from the crowd. One was:

"I was brought up Labour, but this stuff's no good, every man for himself is what I say."

It is tough working for pacifism in the garrison towns and cities of Britain, but we've some good campaigners in these vital areas.

Keeping basic freedoms alive

NOT many people address the much feared House Un-American Activities in that tone of voice these days."

This was the verdict of the famous American columnist, Drew Pearson, when in his syndicated feature he

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'Force quite unrealistic'

-Prof. Lonsdale

"It is quite unrealistic to suppose that the world can continue with the use of force. I am convinced that pacifism will come; it must come," asserted Professor Kathleen Lonsdale recently.

The 1941 Atlantic Charter, out of which grew the United Nations, declared that for practical as well as spiritual reasons, nations must come to abandon force—and that was four years before the atom bomb."

Kathleen Lonsdale was addressing 50 students on "Is Pacifism Practical?" at a tea at University College, London, given by the College Pacifist Society.

"Now we have H-bombs," she continued. "Their existence may cause nations not to rush into war, but knowledge of the production of nuclear weapons is spreading amongst the nations, and H-bombs will not keep the peace when everyone is capable of making them. We don't offer H-bombs to Israel and the Arab States to ensure that they don't go to war!"

Serious thought

"Under the present system of power politics, is that it is essential that groups who reject war and who hope to also to reject war offer an alternative method of conflict and com-

"Our children will have more Strontium 90 in their bones than they can tolerate if we do not stop H-tests alone.

"Disarmament by one nation," the well-known Quaker scientist continued, "possibly might not prevent war, but armed nations will also have to face the problem of future aggression."

"Hitler, or any other mad dog, would have had no power if men had not been prepared to fight for him. If, in the world of the future, we continue to breed mad dogs—and that is what we are doing—it will not be possible to stop them."

"The positive side of pacifism is therefore seeking justice. An impartial international court of justice will become possible when nations renounce power politics."

"Unless we start seriously thinking about the nature of the warless world we want, I do not see much hope for the future. But as soon as we realise that this world must come, we'll find a way—with justice."

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VICTORY IS POSSIBLE

By Arlo Tatum

General Secretary, War Resisters' International, recently returned from a visit to Germany NEWS from Germany over recent weeks has included the depressing and rather frightening information that former SS men are now being welcomed into the new German Army, and veterans of Hitler's defeated (?) army can once again legally and presumably with pride, wear their iron crosses and other Nazi decorations (minus the swastika).

On the other hand blameless young soldiers have been attacked by resentful frustrated civilians, the official army propaganda film "The First Steps" has boomeranged, and the Bonn Government has begun talking about a 12 months' period of duty under conscription instead of 18 months in an effort to pacify the strong opposition to any conscription or rearmament.

Feeding on mistakes

Peace and pacifist movements are co-operating and thriving on the excesses of the Bonn Government.

Despite the many difficulties our German co-workers are facing they are, in my opinion, working under circumstances more favourable than anywhere else in the world!

All the second-hand stories I've heard about the exciting 1930s in the USA and England have come to life for me.

If I am correct, the movements of the 1930s proved to be "more foam than beer" when the excitement died away, and this may be the case with the German movement.

In Schweinfurt, for example, I spoke to the second public meeting of the newly formed WRI group. At the beginning of the meeting, attended by about 400 persons, there were 50 WRI members. At the end of the four hour session there were 100 members.

I haven't any adverse information about the fifty new members, and maybe each became convinced that the method of war had to be abolished and each will "refuse to support or sanction another."

On the other hand perhaps they hold the thoughtful, intelligent and commendable conviction that rearmament of West Germany will more firmly entrench the division of Germany.

Hope and the SPD

One cannot, in any case, question the sincerity of the vast majority of those active in the peace movement. In twelve days I visited eleven cities, speaking with over 1,400 persons.

Meetings which were public had far more non-members present than members—a rare event for sponsoring organisations in other countries. Members or not, the emphatic rejection of a militarised Western Germany was clear and resolute.

It is within the realm of possibility that the "SPD"—the opposition socialist party—will replace the Adenauer Government in the general elections next year. It is possible, even probable, that the SPD will keep its promise to scrap the conscription law if the peace movement does not relax its pressure.

IRISH PACIFISTS HEAR ARLO TATUM

From P. Haley-Dunn

THE Irish Pacifist Movement was host to Arlo Tatum, General Secretary of the War Resisters' International when he addressed a meeting in Dublin, October 5.

Speaking on "The Pacifist Struggle—A World View" he said he often wondered why governments didn't demand to know whether a man was militant before calling him up.

Some 12 countries have conscription and some form of legal recognition for conscientious objectors, though this varies from country to country.

In Belgium war resisters were recognised, but they had to spend eighteen months in prison, though the period for military service was two years; they were then set free.

Communist countries, Spain and Greece had no form of recognition for the CO. In Spain the treatment ranged from being shot to being ignored. One had to be suspicious of the person who claimed to know "exactly what happens to Russian war resisters."

A small army is no army

Pacifist groups in countries where legal recognition had been granted, or where there was no military call-up, were inclined to be somewhat lethargic. The pacifist movement in Ireland was a case in point.

It ought to turn its attention to the Irish Army! A small army is no army; neither good politics nor good military science, he said. This was something all could agree upon and work on.

There were many positive things which could be done in Ireland.

He was at the moment resident in England and he found it exciting to live in a country where a pacifist could have a question raised in Parliament. This could never happen in the US.

There the main question was race relations. Their Southern branch was being very active, but nevertheless there were reports that Negroes and whites were taking up arms. He did not think that there would be any serious violence until at least after the elections.

American pacifists who this year and last year had refused to take part in civil defence exercises had stated that the best form of civil defence was abolition of war. They had been arrested for their pains.

The War Resister, the WRI quarterly magazine printed in French, German and English, reached 88 countries and was for many people their only contact with pacifism. The lecture was followed by a discussion.

October 19, 1956—PEACE NEWS—3

TEN WEEKS TO GO



SPECIAL sales campaigns, bazaars, bring-and-buy socials, Christmas-card-selling drives: there are hundreds of our readers going to it in a big way this autumn to see that the influence of their paper, Peace News, is developed to a still greater extent.

Never before have we had to raise such a large sum in one year to subsidise our work: £2,000 from the sale of Christmas Cards and literature; £3,000 from this fortnightly appeal.

Our fine groups of voluntary workers in Britain and overseas leave us in no doubt that we deserve to succeed; nevertheless, in the next ten weeks we must appeal for

£650 by Dec. 31.

Many of our helpers can give time where they cannot give money. Can we encourage them with the knowledge that some of our friends will promise to give us £25 or £50 on December 31 if we reach within £200 of our target?

Or could someone promise the last £100?

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since October 5: £43 15s. 2d. Total since January 1, 1956: £2,349 18s. 6d.

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Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

'This is the time for converts'

—Dr. SOPER

DR. DONALD SOPER laid down three maxims for pacifists when he spoke to an audience of 200 at the Labour Peace Fellowship's meeting at the Labour Party Conference. They were:

1. Practical peacemaking based upon a knowledge of the reasons for violence.

2. The renunciation of war is necessary if Socialism is to be achieved. It is vital that the progressive movements should be influenced by those who believed that the powers of violence can be overcome by the spirit of community.

3. There is no such thing as a just war, whether sanctioned by the United Nations or not.

Dr. Soper accused the Tory government of "ineptitude vying with sheer immorality" in its handling of home, foreign and colonial affairs.

He called on all pacifists to declare themselves publicly; today non-pacifists are having all their arguments destroyed by force of events; now is the time to make converts. A great deal could be learned from what is happening in the East, in India and in China.

Victor Yates, MP, had opened the meeting, which had suffered from keen competition with an "official" meeting with Nye Bevan speaking, and with a meeting on automation,

by recalling the efforts of the LPF over the past year to make the Labour Party abandon conscription and to fight the Tories on issues like Suez.

Ted Redhead, MP, said "peace" was becoming a respectable word. Even the Tories would not openly admit that their sabre-rattling was war-like.

He said that after the last war Western propaganda had alleged that the A- and H-bombs were a deterrent to Russia; now Russia has these weapons, too, the deterrent is supposed to be even greater! We cannot achieve peace by making and testing atomic weapons.

Miss Eileen Fletcher was the other speaker on this notable platform. She affirmed her faith in the rejection of the method of war, saying that it was her experience that a "leap in the dark" often works.

She gave a brief, but effective description of what Britain is doing in Kenya. The Kikuyu tribe is being wiped out; 11,000 people have been hanged, 12,000 will be banished for ever from their tribes, even after the emergency ends.

She asked all present to write to their MP's, to the Colonial Secretary and to the Press, demanding an immediate judicial enquiry into the course of "justice" in Kenya. She concluded by expressing her support for the Labour Party's colonial policy.

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The London Co-operative Society was formed in 1920 by the amalgamation of the old Stratford Society (started by Railwaymen in 1860) and the Edmonton Society (started by Tramwaymen in 1888).

At the time of this amalgamation the total membership was 77,000 and the sales £2,500,000. A year later it was still further augmented when the West London Society (founded by District Railwaymen in 1895) joined the larger organisation, and from this date onwards the Committee of Management have carried out a policy of development and expansion. Over the years this plan, coupled with the rigid insistence of keeping down prices and returning the profits as dividend, has been richly rewarded by continuously increasing trade and membership, so that today the Society has almost 14 million members in its operational and trading area of roughly 400 square miles. Its boundaries at Uxbridge and Southend are some 70 miles apart in the east/west direction. It extends northwards from its general southern boundary—the river Thames—to places such as Barnet and Potters Bar.

It costs only 2s. for anyone over the age of 16 to join the Society, at any branch.

Labour Party Conference

From TED BERROW

Continued from last week

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COLONIAL AFFAIRS
In the colonial debate James Johnson, MP, govern-
ed the "public schoolboys who govern
colonies," and John Boyd, of the AEU,
opposed Tory policy in Cyprus.

John Papworth (South Kensington) called

for equality of justice in Kenya, and drew

attention to Eileen Fletcher's pamphlet.

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No meeting October 25.

E FIVE

At 4.45 on Wednesday the debate on conscription was called. The mover tried to get it postponed till Thursday, but the Chairman refused to guarantee it would be taken then.

CONSCRIPTION

Hugh Blair (West Renfrewshire) therefore opened the debate, declaring that the international situation had improved. He referred to the upheaval of home life and of work caused by conscription and ended by declaring that "we do not believe in wars and we do not intend to prepare accordingly."

Mrs. Greta Karpin, the Salford West delegate, opposed conscription under capitalism. We are sending conscripts to kill our brothers in the colonies," she said; the whole life of boys was being disrupted. She appealed to Frank Cousins, General Secretary of the powerful T & GWU, to show he was the old-fashioned Socialist he said he was and vote for the immediate abolition of conscription.

The Chairman tried to close the discussion at this point, but Victor Yates, MP, dashed to the rostrum and angrily demanded it continue. Ald. George Scott (Croydon Borough Labour Party) criticised the Party for its weak policy in the past and called for an end to hypocrisy in colonial affairs.

The NEC opposed the motion and it was defeated.

Miss Jennie Lee, MP, for Cannock, declared it was our job as Socialists not to have an Empire. The colonies contribute £700m. a year to our sterling balance, but we give them only £300m. in aid, she pointed out. "It is going to be a great day when we keep our troops at home and send the foodships all over the world," she concluded.

The white population's reaction to all attempts to enforce equality was referred to by Fenner Brockway, MP. We had to enforce our views against them.

Jim Griffiths, MP, closed the debate. He called only on EOKA to stop the fighting in Cyprus, welcomed Malta to Westminster and sent greetings to Ghana. He did not explain how these three were compatible. He closed by approving Fenner Brockway's Bill to outlaw the colour bar.

from the Commonwealth was defeated, there were many attacks on that country's policies and their extension elsewhere.

Dong Tible (Wickham), a member of the Peace Committee of the London Quarterly Meeting of the Society of Friends, warned of the danger of new colour prejudice as unemployment grew. He called on Labour Party members to put a bar on hotels which practised the colour bar.

Frank Day (Plymouth Borough Party) asked which was worse—to be coloured and suffer torture as in Kenya, or to be white and suffer the shame of it.

George Scott, of the Electrical Trades Union, moved a motion calling for the withdrawal of all troops from the colonies and the immediate implementation of the Declaration of Human Rights.

He referred to 80,000,000 people struggling for their freedom and said the colonial people could no longer tolerate imperialism. People must have the right to rule their own countries.

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SECRET SESSIONS

During the week there were two secret sessions to deal with changes in the Party's Constitution, and these revealed a great deal of unrest. 482,000, nearly half the Constituency votes, were cast for a proposal to eliminate the block vote entirely, and have all TU affiliations at local level!

1,180,000 votes supported the reduction of the age limit to 15, in a vain attempt to recruit more young people, and 1,677,000 votes were cast in an effort to remove the anomaly whereby trade union delegates to Party Conference need not be full Party members. However the TU vote was still too much for these protests to be effective.

The highest vote against the Executive was on an attempt to have policy discussed at the now-moribund Regional Conferences. 1,681,000 votes supported this motion.

The Conference closed at 1.25 p.m. on Friday with much talk about the Party's new "unity." Frankly, this is illusory.

Bevan has returned to the Right-Wing fold, where he really belongs, and the leadership has moved a little to the Left. The individual members are in about the same position as they were when the Korean War began—opposed to the militaristic policy of Transport House, but unable to express themselves.

The Labour leaders are preparing to take over the government again, but it would be a mistake to think that the jamboree at Blackpool indicates any hope of an early return to the policies of Keir Hardie!

Saturday, October 20

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Conway Hall, Lion Sq., Gen. Sharp, M.A., "The social and political strategy of M. K. Gandhi." The Third Way and PYAG.

STRATFORD - ON - AVON: 7.30 p.m.; Sheep St., Programme of films on Practical Peacemaking." Adm. free. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard, 6 Endsleigh St., M.P., for business and education. Mrs. F. Norman, "Is there a race?" Visitors welcome. Peace News, PPU.

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LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard, 6 Endsleigh St

ISRAEL AND JORDAN

Jordan, where the first free general elections are due to take place next Sunday.

But the Anglo-Israeli intrigues have failed due to lack of foresight. Israel forgot that anti-Nasserism for Britain meant pro-Iraqism. And Britain forgot that for the Jordanians, anti-Nasserism hardly meant pro-Iraqism.

The result has been that on the one hand Anglo-Israeli relations have been strained and on the other that the British policy of getting the Iraqi troops inside Jordan has not succeeded.

From what has been happening at the Israeli-Jordan frontier, one conclusion is inescapable: neither the Jordanians nor the Israelis want a full scale war, and neither the Arab states nor the Jewish state is in a mood to negotiate peace.

There seems to be a brutal and a most inhuman silent agreement between the two sides: you blow up a dozen of our people every week, we shall blow up two dozen of yours every two weeks. The brink of war is always there in actions, just as the brink is always omnipresent in conversations.

And when some day, at some place on the frontier some one gets a little frightened, a little nervous, or a little trigger happy, the Middle Eastern situation may explode. Such a war would come even though neither side wants it.

"Ben Gurion is old. He is frightened and nervous. He might any day launch a war against us." This is how the Jordanian Chief of Staff, General Ali Abou Nuwar described Israel's Prime Minister to me.

To those who may consider these remarks uncharitable and repulsive, one may only point out that it is Ben Gurion who in Israeli politics is the arch champion of the concept of massive retaliation.

Sharrett forced out

The Arab leaders distrust him. Said Aflak, the Secretary General of Syria's Bath Socialist Party, "Though there is not much choice between the two, yet Sharrett is much preferable to Ben Gurion. Sharrett is an Asian and he understands the Arab mind much better than Ben Gurion does."

Liberals all the world over have regretted Sharrett's resignation from Israel's Foreign Ministry.

He was forced to resign by Ben Gurion. Though "personal incompatibility" was described to me as the reason for Sharrett's resignation, by one of his closest friends, it is a known fact that this incompatibility extended to the question of massive retaliation.

With Sharrett out of the government, Israel has accepted the concept of massive retaliation as the guiding principle of her policy towards the Arab states.

The recurrence of the border troubles has its own reasons. Raids by the infiltrators from the Arab side have increased because the Suez dispute has inflamed Arab public opinion, and the Arab refugees from Palestine who believe Israel to be a creation of the West consider such raids as a manifestation of their new nationalist spirit.

On the Israeli side, the Zionists feel a little more comfortable now that the West has decided to supply arms and jet planes to Israel through the agency of the Canadian Government.

British intrigues

And since it was well known that these arms and planes have come to Israel because of the West's embroilment with the Arabs, over the Suez dispute, the duchards wanted to present the raids as a "thank you" note to the imperialist Powers.

Recent events have made it clear that through the raids Britain saw an opportunity to regain its lost ground inside Jordan. Britain has failed and Israel has sinned without profit. No wonder Israel feels disgusted.

A visitor to Israel is always deeply impressed by the somewhat socialist and the democratic settlement that Jewish labour and Western capital have built.

The impression is most profound on those who are seeking an alternative to Communism and Parliamentarian Socialism, both of which in varying degrees have failed.

In these settlements, the visitor detects a new socio-economic system as well as process through which Western capital may go to the underdeveloped areas on non-imperial terms.

But Israel's foreign policies, I must most

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regrettably say, are more reactionary than the domestic policies of some of the most despotic Arab countries.

What was needed as a corrective was an effective political opposition to the Ben Gurion Government. But by joining the government, Achdut Havaodah and Mapam have wiped out serious political opposition.

From the Centre to the Left, every political leader now toes the Ben Gurion line. Every political leader that I met tried to convince me that Israel need peace.

But such assertions are not borne out by concrete actions. A policy of peace cannot go hand in hand with a philosophy of massive retaliation.

With a woman's charm and an American teacher's eloquence, the Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, tried to impress upon me the sincere desire of the Israeli government to have peace on her borders.

Socialist betrayal

But when I pleaded to her to re-examine the concept of massive retaliation, she rather angrily replied: "We can not let these border raids pass by. We have to convince our people that the government is not sitting idly by."

I could understand Mrs. Meir's concern but what I could not understand was how the Jewish people, the people who have suffered most in recent history, could accept the doctrine of massive retaliation, so alien to their way of life.

And when Kesse, until recently the Secretary General of Mapai, and one of the most lovable persons I have met in Israel, after casually mentioning to me that Israel could drive the Jordanians to the Western Bank of the River Jordan within 36 hours, said in a most persuasive tone that Israel did not have any aggressive intentions and no pro-Western policies, I was not impressed.

What is most deplorable and regrettable is the silence of the political Left of Israel.

They have betrayed the international socialist ethics that enjoins upon men to respect human life by giving half-silent consent to Ben Gurion's actions. Their silence cannot be condoned.

Much was expected from Achdut Havaodah. Its leaders, Israel Galilee, Yigal Aalon and Elizer Halevy are big men with bigger ideals. And quite contrary to their programme, which calls for a rapprochement between the leftists of Israel and the Arab countries, they have advocated that all the military posts on the Jordanian frontier should be captured or destroyed by the Israeli forces.

In risking a war with the Arabs they, therefore, seem to be more adventurous than the rather conservative Mapai.

Arab attacks

What Mrs. Meir said in a few words, the leaders of the fellow-travelling Mapam said in long conversations. Yacob Chazan, Mapam's No. 2 man in the party hierarchy, was perhaps the ablest person I met on my recent trips to Israel.

His party is keenly aware of the discriminations practised against the Arabs inside Israel and recently he was instrumental in organising a joint Arab-Jewish Conference to seek ways to improve the lot of the Arabs.

But on the concept of massive retaliation he only repeated the point of view held by the leaders of Mapai. "If we do not retaliate," he argued, "then the leaders of the Right—Menheim Begar and his Herut Party—will capture power and thus the cause of socialism would be lost."

This criticism of Israel, and the bankruptcy of Israeli socialism does not mean that the actions of the Arab infiltrators who have been guilty of murdering innocent Israeli citizens are either to be overlooked or condoned.

But one does expect something better from Israel because in the first place Israel is a country of a suffering people and secondly it is a state which is partly socialist and is pledged to the democratic and humanitarian ideals.

Steps to peace

The intensity of Israeli retaliation has been completely out of proportion to the Arab provocation. There may not be any qualitative difference between the actions of the infiltrators and the Israeli forces but there certainly is a substantial quantitative difference.

And the UN Secretary General is more than right in considering these retaliatory raids as individual actions and as breaches of the True Agreements.

Israel and her leaders must cultivate restraint just as the Arab refugees must develop patience through their suffering. Israel should also realise that the presence of about a million refugees on its frontiers gives more than a million reasons to the Arabs to get angry at Israel.

Israel must take a lead in creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and peace, for only in such an atmosphere can negotiations for peace take place with possibilities for a solution.

Similarly, Ben Gurion should be prepared to receive a large number of Israeli Arab refugees back into Israel.

Lovers of democracy and justice can hardly deny the right of the refugees to get back home, and more so to Israel. If the Jews of the diaspora (dispersion) after centuries of absence from their homeland, can lay claim to get back to Palestine, why not the Arab refugees who have been away less than a decade?

SORRY—NO PEACE!

Through all these negotiations peace has been our aim, but not peace at any price. In dealing with a dictatorship peace at any price means to increase step by step the dangers of universal war . . . we have refused to say that in no circumstances would we ever use force. No responsible Government could ever give such a pledge.

—Sir Anthony Eden, October 13, 1956.

It must be very seldom that a British Prime Minister, summing up at the end of his Party's annual conference, has rolled so many platitudes and out-worn clichés off his tongue, as Sir Anthony Eden achieved at Llandudno last Saturday.

That his flat and hackneyed words evoked an ovation from his audience can only be attributed to the emotional background of the conference's last day, and to the unfortunate fact that he was saying what they wanted to hear.

This seems to imply that they, as well as he, are living not in this era of nuclear-weapon warfare, but in a past age, an age of "drawn swords," "backs to the wall," "my country right or wrong," and "Britannia rules the waves"; an age when a few so-called "local wars" were part of British Imperialist policy.

When Sir Anthony says "Peace has been our aim," he does not explain what he means by peace. It would seem, in view of the events since Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal Company, that he cannot mean "no war."

His whole attitude, and his spoken words, before the decision to go to the United Nations, were indicative of his belief that the proper answer to Nasser was to fight him.

It is not usual for elaborate troop movements, the sailing of aircraft carriers manned with paratroops, and the call-up of reservists to be considered synonymous with an aim of peace. To the ordinary person, and certainly to the country threatened with these moves, the aim might well appear to be war.

Within this context the statement that "peace has been our aim" is meaningless.

But to have followed those empty words with that sickening piece of claptrap, "but not peace at any price," is so utterly uninspired that it is surprising it raised even one cheer.



Most people nowadays would be prepared to pay a high price, very high indeed, for the chance to live unthreatened by the horror and disaster of another war.

Even if Sir Anthony is thinking in terms only of a "local" war, designed to get rid of Nasser; even if, by some miracle (and it would be in the nature of a miracle), such a war should spread no further than the Canal Zone, it would still be a war in which passions would be roused, and retaliation inevitable; in which people would kill and be killed; in which human beings would be maimed and burned and blinded.

It is a heavy price indeed—for those who pay in that coin, especially if, in the end, there is no peace, but only the ground, well and truly prepared, for the third world-war.

PEACE IS POSSIBLE

From Derek Walker

"WE must get rid of the fallacy that there is nothing which ordinary people can do to change the direction of world affairs," said Dr. Donald Soper in London last Sunday.

He was preaching on "The World Can Live in Peace—If Ordinary People Really Want It", the first in a series of five sermons on the subject of peace.

Dr. Soper pointed out that the old arguments that there were historic, moral or economic laws which made the recurrence of war inevitable had now been exploded. People were sceptical today only because they could not believe human nature would be able to meet the demands of peace. Since the problem of war and peace was essentially a problem of human nature, it was one that could best be solved by religion—the Christian religion.

IF PEOPLE REFUSED

It was not enough to wish for peace, Dr. Soper continued; we must be prepared to make sacrifices to achieve it. We must also acquire a sense of urgency, for we might have less time than we thought. At any moment the tension on the borders of Israel, or the ugly situation in Hong Kong, or some other trouble spot, might become the Sarajevo which would lead to catastrophe.

The task of preventing this lay in the hands of people like ourselves. "If, for a sufficiently high motive, ordinary people refused to fight, there would be no more war."

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